1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(2)

Korst	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkorom	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kolpui	25	19	17	9	6	76
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Source: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidog (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent hofne, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

Hunting

The year was divided into two seasons, *maainonik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *isotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[Text continues on P.58--analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

262 Keremsiit (N. *poinet*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
136 Irukutet (N. *irukutiet*).—Reed-buck.
Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.
Kipsomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *koroiitynt*,).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiniet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus albigularis*).
Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus grisco-viridis*).
Konokchot (N. *moset*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Toraet (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochærus æthiopicus*).
Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.
Melilto (N.).—Leopard.
Sombit (N. *ägetundo*).—Lion.
Soiet (N.).—Buffalo.
Pëliot (N.).—Elephant.

262 Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*sëuriet* (N.), fruit (*e.g.* berries, such
● 139 as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siwet* (N.), *Girardinia condensata*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasanat*, pl. *pasanik*; N. *moingat*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the tenetwet (N. *tenduet*,) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

222 To take honey, the Dorōbo first makes fire in a loose ball of sasyat (fibre); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the kipsepuet (N.) tree[1] in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The sasyat is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking sasyat is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorōbo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipiriityet*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the kipsepuet leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

264 In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

[1] *Tilia* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

192 197 *Note.*—In the foregoing vocabulary the letter (N.) does not necessarily mean that the equivalent Nandi word has exactly the same meaning or the same form as the Dorōbo word. In several cases the Nandi words have quite different meanings, though referring to the same sort of thing as the Dorōbo word, *e.g.* "mesundeito," the Dorōbo for "night," means in Nandi, "darkness when there is no moon." And when, *e.g.*, "paal" is marked (N.) it does not necessarily follow that the Nandi is "paal" (in this case the Nandi is "pal"). The object of the indication is to show what words are to be considered Nandi, what words are to be considered dialect, and what words Māsai.

Examples of Dorōbo. (True Dorōbo in italics.)

192 539 Ker-oti *Obick* si ko-*sue* *kochongwick*
They-are-walking-about-looking-at the-Dorōbo that they-may-know the-huts
chepo piik ap *sumeita*.
which-are-of the-people of the-forest.

Ma-ngo-mi *sombisiek* *samakuek* korosuo-chu.
Not-and-there-are the-lions (in) the-forests (in) countries-these.

Mi-i *kisamet* ne lony-e *iloota*.
There-is the-bridge which it-crosses the-river.

Ki-ichōm-doi-i *ki-sugas* āāg *ūgōkik*.
We-go that-we-may-hunt with the-dogs.

Ko'len *olmoruokchot* A-mach-e *simborokuet* *ko-chōm-un* si ko-ram
And-he-says the-old-man I-want the-girl that-she-comes that she-may-draw
ungare.
the-water.

Ki-pendi *samak*[1] ki-*sugas* tornet ne meny-e ye mi-i
We-go forest we-hunt the-bush-pig which it-dwells where there-is
oldamiyoit.
the-olive-tree.

VII.—List of Trees and Plants.

Dorōbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
192 197 137 chelumbut	ēwât	
chepkeipet		
chesicheiyot	chesicheiyet	
choruet	choruet	*ficus* sp.
ketit-ap-Inaiik		
kāposwet	serengwet	
kāput-kalial	kāpkiloluet	

[1] In Mr. Hobley's vocabulary of Ravine Dorōbo (*Man*, 1905, 21), the phrase "kibendi samak," lit. "we go to forest," is given for "hunt."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
kaliot	keliot	*acacia senegal* var. *kerensis*.
kaninet	serkutiet	
kaiuyuwet	martit	
kipeichekwet	siriat	
kipkomotot	kipkoskosit	
kipsepuet	kipsepuet	*tilia* sp.
kiptilliet	kipuimotyet	
kiserset	kuneruet	*cedrus* sp.
koropanyat	kormanyat	
kuriot	kuriot	
kwâmereryet	chepsaîgalnet	
laropat	ket-ê-ka	
leuseiyuet	lamaiyuet	*zimmia amariana*.
mâchet	soiyet	
mareeto	sakonwet	
masaita		
misaleyuet	masiririet	*polygonum senegalense*.
moiyuet	cheptangolik	parasite, tree-rope.
momonyat	momonyot	*rubus rigidus*.
mukupchot	lepekwet	*dracæna* sp.
ndorokyat		
ñganasyat	chepkeleliet	
nyaklet	kipsutiet	parasite, tree-rope.
olchapalait	chepîtet	
oldamiyoit	emdit	*olea chrysophylla*.
ororuet	teldet	*ficus* sp.
pôpônet	siksiket	
porôwet	silipchet	*dombeya* sp.
rêrenslet	kureslet	*euphorbia candelabrum*.
rosopeiyet	leltonget	*abutilon indicum*.
saptet	tarakwet	*podocarpus* sp.
sâsuriet	sasuriot	*musa enseta*.
seet	seet	
senetwet	senetwet	*cassia didymobotrya*.
seûgeñgwet	sosoiyat	
sutuet	katet; sertuet	*acacia robusta*.
sitotwet	sitotyot	
soboitit	simotuet	*ficus* sp.
somiyat	tekat	*arundinaria alpina*.
sumbeiyuet	sumbeiyuet	

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Dorōbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
susuek (" grass ")	sekemetyet	moss.
taptet	setyot	
teet	tarakwet	*juniperus procera.*
tegeltît	indakariat	*acanthus arboreus.*
tenetwet	tenduet	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*amilia integrifolia.*
teresyat	teresyat	
tiinet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—List of Tribe Names.

Dorōbo.—Okio (Okiot); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyot); pl., Keyu (Keyek).
European.—Asungio (Asungiot); pl., Asungu (Asunguk.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Lemindet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikîs, Lumbwa.—Kipsikîsin (Kipsikîsindet); pl., Kipsikîs (Kipsikîsiek). il-Kakesant.
Mâsae, Uasin Gîshu.—Ipkwapcho (Ipkwapchot); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapek.).
Nandi.—Meyuo (Meyuot); pl., Moe (Meek).[1]
" Sirikwa."—Kâpcheptuen.

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorōbo.[2]

By the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorōbo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorōbo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Mâsae to the Bantu " savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lemek = " the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is lem-, and the real meaning " boy."

[2] For physical types, see Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Meteitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Economic Life of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

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Contents:

1. The Economic Framework
2. Economic Activities
   a) Bee-keeping
   b) Hunting
   c) Agriculture
   d) Cattle
3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

1. The Economic Framework [1]

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The country inhabited by the Dorobo consists of the northern part of the Tindiret Forest, and lies just north of the equator, extending northwards to about lat. 0°12′, the western and eastern boundaries being long. 35°17′ and 35°32′ respectively. This area is mostly covered by dense forest of the deciduous type, and has an average altitude of about 8300 feet above sea-level, the northern block being in effect a table-land formed by the 8000 ft. contour. From it on the north and west a series of parallel ridges or spurs runs down towards the Nandi Land Unit [2], which is five miles distant from the nearest Dorobo settlement and below 7000 ft. in altitude, that part of south-east Nandi with which the Dorobo have contacts ranging from 6300 to 6800 ft. On the south there is a more precipitous slope to the Kipkurere valley, whence there is a rise to be crossed before the river Meteitei is reached. The only river of any size in the forest is the Kipkurere, "the hollow river", in allusion to its deep valley, which in wet weather rises from Lake Narasha near Timboroa. It crosses the southern part of the Dorobo forest through a valley nearly 1000 ft. deep, and with its numerous small tributaries forms the water supply of this part of the forest.

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[1] Cf. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44. 1951. pp. 1-48, and The Political Organization of the Dorobo, Anthropos 49. 1954. pp. 123-143.

[2] Native Land Unit is the term now used officially in place of the old Native Reserve; but for the sake of clearness I shall continue to refer to the Nandi Land Unit as the Nandi Reserve or the Reserve.

[4602]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a block of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Nandi Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work [3].

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of acacia thorn (acacia robusta, the flat-topped thorn-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the thorn and the forest are glades (*tereita*) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent; in the dry weather there is occasional hoar-frost in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some weeks elapse before the damp disappears.

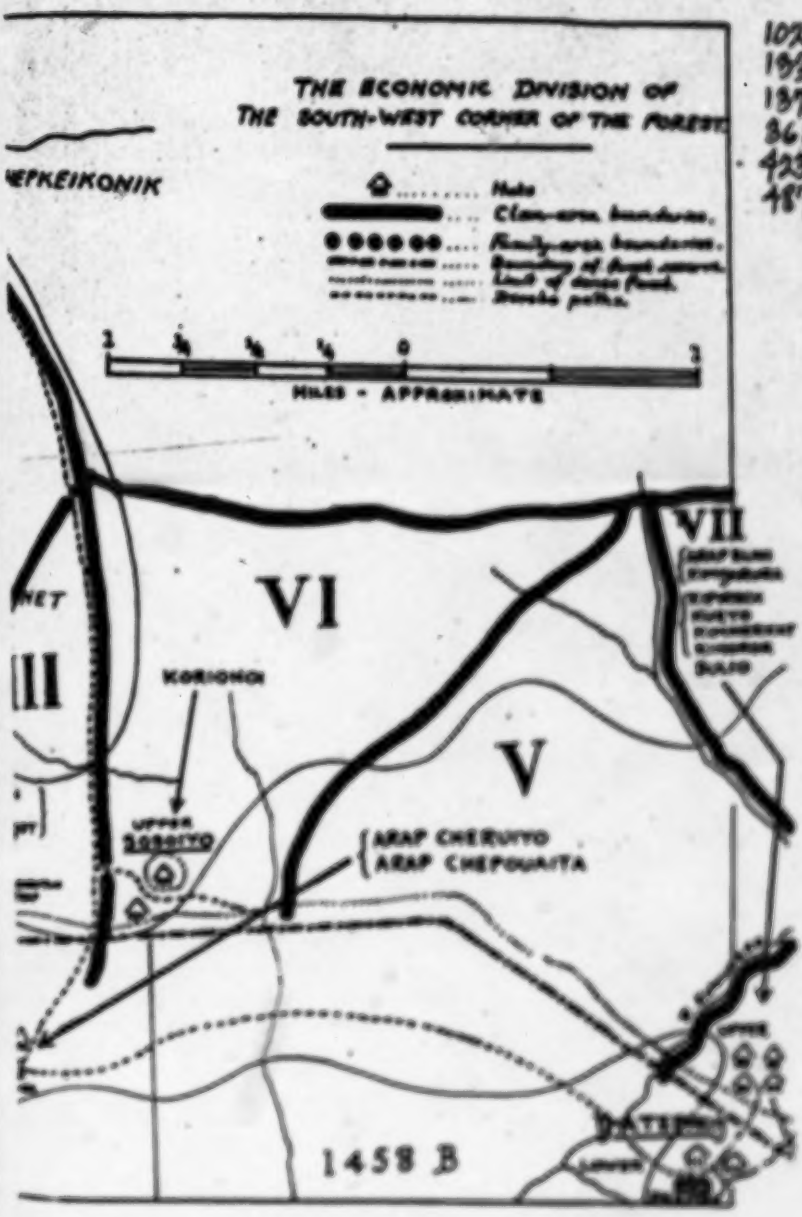
From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Coruet, ficus sp.
Keliot, acocanthera Schimperi.
Kipsepuet, tilia sp.
Lemeiyuet, ximenia americana.
Mindeiyuet, polygonum senegalense.
Mukupcot, dracaena sp.
Oltamiyoit, olea chrysophylla.
Ororuet, ficus sp.
Poroet, Dombeya sp.
Rerendet, euphorbia candelabrum.
Saptet, podocarpus sp.
Sasuriet, musa ensete.
Senetuet, cassia didymobotrya.
Sestuet, acacia robusta.
Sopoitit, ficus sp.
Sosoiyat, arundinaria alpina.
Teet, juniperus procera.

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were reached by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth; nowadays some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-barrels and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkorom to Sosoiyo, the other parallel to it from Kipukua to Sosoiyo. These being the only through tracks, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[3] The farms are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6



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7: Wayland 31-5 (ca. 1924) 1931 FLA Overdue FL6
Joye FK5
Achol FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kamona and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Kenmojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gallery that cut into the escarpment that separates Kenmojo from the Turkana country very large figs-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Kenmojo District derives from the name Kenmojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Kenmojong; the central part of the country is known as *Je* and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodoths and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodoth (Dodoths).

The following nomenclature of the varied scenery are taken (with very slight adaptations) from a "Report on the Kenmojo District," by Capt. A. R. Chalton Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1929:—

(1) Kenmojo.	Area.
Ng'ameso	Bogoi (in Shoma).
Ng'amolubo	Shoma
Ng'ingoro	"
Ng'ipan	Nadi Nadi and Kibo
Ng'lokomo	Dakoshon Hill.
Ng'moru	Rokoro
Ng'nomingo	"
Ng'ngalabich	"
Ng'nomilomong	"
Ng'ongo	"
Ng'ori	"

(2) Je.	Area.
Ng'ongora	Je-central.
Ng'lolongo	" "
Ng'nolia	" "
Ng'lolubo	" "
Ng'pompompom	" "
Ng'nolubone	" "
Ng'olongo	" "

[P 184, B]

The social structure of the Dombo is based on class solidarity, the class being partilineal, partially patrilineal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but have the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

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[P.184, C]

3. The depressing influence on the mind of trees in mass.

4. The effect of being cut off from neighbours even if the next settlement is but a few yards away, it cannot be seen, and the trees act as an enclosing wall forming an impenetrable barrier.

5. Forest life tends to produce shyness and timidity, especially with strangers, who, not being expected, and having presumably no legitimate business, are thought to have bad intentions.

Some of the differences between the Dorobo and the Nandi, which are produced by these factors, are:

Shyness; comparative absence of laughter; seriousness of outlook; nearness to nature, as shown by the weather- and animal-sense of the Dorobo; and the comparative honesty of the Dorobo. Even when Dorobo leave the forest and mix with others, they still retain these characteristics.

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes [114] into the affinal or relationship [except B. Ka. G. D.], that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an enjoin.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister [191] because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., B.W., or Ha.D.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone to the affinal [194] is forbidden; but with a classificatory sweetheart, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth [195] have resulted in the Dandas being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may [195A] have more than one wife. The Saibai Dandagai[1] is said to have been formerly a cause for slaughtering; today it is 2 axes, 1 ax and 4 yards, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This Saibai is high for [196] people who own little or no work, but by means [196A] of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the [196B] Papuan (See below, p. 202.) Scarcity of women is another result of this shortage, and does a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability [197] to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called sandals, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kaiwalagal Dandas is the [21] western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Gidamu Bandas and the Fiwali aborigines. The greater part of it is [191] covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the [191A] S. W. course by two parallel ranges from Kiphamaru to the north to Dibamaru to the south. The [20] former begins about the 9,000 ft. contour, and is rocky. It rises very quite suddenly a steep climb of

[1] The Saibai term is "Bride-price to antiquity," Haddon, Soc. Org.

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 4,200 ft. to 3,400 ft., though the main river, the Kiptaren, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kaptaren farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 36.24 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 39.22 inches in 1932, the minimum 29.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high labour mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (*acacia albida*), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwaitumik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Amet*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the new clearances hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1920 when the Government started actively to control their forest life, and (2) the present trapping agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the clan-community or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work envisages no more owners, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and basketry; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging cultivated earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).